Leadership representations in South Korea and the United States

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SUMMARY

Numerous studies have shown that culture is a critical factor affecting leadership perceptions. Although these studies provide useful information about cultural differences, they overlook the fundamental difference between East Asians and Westerners, a holistic view versus an analytic view. In addition, these studies are based on methodologies in which verbal or pictorial stimuli are presented by researchers under conditions of high capacity, which does not allow other representational differences to be observed. This study investigates leadership representations in South Korea and the United States based on hypotheses about fundamental differences in social cognitive processing among South Koreans and Americans, as revealed in spontaneously generated visual productions. The results suggest that South Koreans have a holistic view, whereas Americans have an analytic view of leadership representations. Implications and future directions for research on cultural differences in leadership representations are discussed.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Leadership is part of the human experience; anthropologists maintain that there are no human societies without some form of leadership (Boehm, 1999; Lewis, 1974; Van Vugt, 2006). Regardless of a group's size, characteristics, or goals, leadership is thought to be universally critical (Wang, Chou, & Jiang, 2005). Despite its importance, however, there is little agreement about the definitions, origins, and consequences of "leadership" (Dickson, Den Hartog, & Mitchelson, 2003; Gini, 1996; Kenney, Blasovich, & Shaver, 1994; Nye, 2002; Yukl, 1989).

Starting in the 1980s, a new direction for studying leadership emerged in Industrial/Organizational psychology. Unlike previous research, which primarily investigated a leader-centric path, this alternative approach emphasized the follower's perspective and the cognitive processes involved in leadership perception (Bass, 1990; Lord, Foti, & De Vader, 1984). The idea that leadership cannot exist unless followers perceive it was taken literally (Meindl, 1995), and numerous studies were conducted to examine the relationship between individual "leader" attributes and potential "follower's" perceptions of leadership. Phillips and Lord (1981), for instance, found that leadership behaviors engage categorization processes. That is, people compare a potential leader's attributes or behaviors to pre-existing "leader" category representations. These categorization processes are also important influences on the measurement of leader behavior (Hogg, 2001).

If leadership perception is a categorization process, then any factors influencing the content or structure of the representation will affect perception. Culture is one such factor (Popper & Druyan, 2001). Generally, cross-cultural research compares "leader" category

representations, often between interdependent and independent cultures (e.g., East Asians vs. Westerners; Brodbeck et al., 2000). This methodology, while informative, neglects a profound difference between East Asians and Westerners. That is, East Asians hold a relatively holistic view of the world, attending much more to context than Westerners, whose "focal object-oriented" view (Ji, Peng, & Nisbett, 2000) leads them to attend almost exclusively to central, individual figures. These findings imply that differences in sensitivity to the environment should be considered to fully understand other domains of perception, such as leadership.

The purpose of this study is to investigate representations of leadership in two different cultural groups, South Korean and American, in terms of the differences that this contrasting in contextual focus may produce. I begin with a brief review of leadership perception research, particularly focused on the leadership categorization model. I then consider cross-cultural leadership and cultural differences in attention and representation, and illustrate method, results, and implications for organizational research.

1.1 Leadership Perception

In a departure from past research on leadership, which focused on the utility and predictive value of traits and behaviors for distinguishing effective leaders from others (Smith & Foti, 1998; Yukl, 1989), Lord and his colleagues studied the attribution of "leadership." This attribution largely depends on how would-be leaders are perceived by others (Foti, Fraser, & Lord, 1982; Lord & Emrich, 2001; Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985; Pfeffer, 1977). This follower-centric perspective is based on the idea that leadership should be understood not only by attributes of the leaders themselves but also in terms of leader-follower relationships. Essential to this perspective is the idea that leadership is constructed by followers, as are other

perceptions and judgments (Popper & Druyan, 2001), and followers engage in both automatic and controlled thinking as they perceive leaders (Lord & Maher, 1990, 1991).

Researchers taking this perspective argued that observed leadership behaviors are inputs to categorization processes (Foti, Knee, & Backert, 2008; Lord et al., 1984; Phillips & Lord, 1981). This leadership categorization theory has offered a great deal of insight into the cognitive structure of leadership representations (Foti et al., 2008).

An early study by Hollander (1961) suggested the potential impact of leadership perceptions. Participants were given a description containing four prototypical items regarding a leader's performance and asked if they were willing to have them, the leader, in the group. The results show that the value of a leader increases steadily with increases in the degree of competence ascribed to the stimulus person.

Lord et al. (1984) showed that individuals use pre-existing representations to identify leaders, comparing these (implicitly or explicitly) to observed behaviors. They found 59 leader attributes and 26 non-leader attributes held by people that can aptly contrast leaders to non-leaders. Furthermore, they found the more prototypical attributes people have; the more accessible the attributes are to them. In other words, reaction time for the prototypical attributes is reduced. In their third study, they also showed that prototypicality affected leadership perceptions, expectations for leader behavior, and attributions of causality and responsibility.

Similar findings for perceptions of political leadership by Foti et al. (1982) also noted that category labels (e.g., political leader or effective leader) influence the prototypes of various categories. They showed that positive items were judged as being more prototypical of effective political leaders than of political leaders in general. In addition, they found that, for subjects responding to a Gallup poll, the more prototypical attributes were more highly correlated with

leadership ratings. This implies that prototypes do have an impact on people's ratings of real-world leaders.

Lord and Maher (1993) argued that follower perceptions are crucial because only those perceived as leaders are allowed the discretion and influence to lead effectively. In short, researchers assumed that leadership exists in the minds of both leaders and followers in the form of prototypes. They developed models of two cognitive processes, recognition-based processing and inference-based processing, to investigate leadership perceptions. In this sense, leadership prototype research focuses on the recognition-based model. When people make leadership judgments, they compare observed behaviors to their prototypes (e.g. representations) to recognize individuals as leaders or non-leaders. Therefore, followers who categorize a person as a prototypical leader are more likely to allow him/her to influence them (Brodbeck et al., 2000).

Further evidence for the categorization model of leadership is provided by Kenney et al. (1994). Researchers asked participants to generate prototypes and representative expectations of a new group leader's traits or behaviors in study 1, and let other participants decide if those prototypes of possible leader behaviors were a good or a poor example of the category in study 2. In their third study, they asked participants to sort the behavioral exemplars into categories. The results indicate that 87 exemplars and four behavioral categories (learning the group's goals, taking charge, being a nice person, and being nervous) were generated for the possible new leader of the group.

Hall and Lord (1995) proposed that leadership perception involves both controlled and automatic processes. Controlled processes are conscious, effortful, adjustable and extremely dependent on short-term memory resources, whereas automatic processes are unconscious, effortless, resistant to change, and relatively independent of short-term memory. The processes

resulting in leadership perceptions can also range from automatic to more controlled (e.g. Lord & Maher, 1990; 1991; 1993). They also argue that leadership perceptions need to be accounted for not only at the person level but also at the group level.

Similarly, Foti et al. (2008) provide evidence that people engage in both automatic and controlled leadership perception depending on personal topic relevance. Using videotapes of group discussions regarding mp3 file sharing, they found that individuals in the high relevance condition (those who use mp3 frequently) gave higher emergent leadership ratings to the group member who changed their beliefs, as opposed to matching their prior leadership representation. In contrast, individuals in the low relevance condition (those who rarely use mp3) gave higher emergent leadership ratings to the group member matching their cognitive expectations, who represented behavioral patterns prototypical of student leaders.

1.2. Automatic and Controlled information processing

Despite the substantial research devoted to understand leadership perceptions, there are other issues which need to be investigated. As Shaw (1990) noted, most leadership research is done in Western countries; the term "leader" is often associated with Western concepts of an individual as well. Moreover, leadership prototype studies focus on individual characteristics. Only a few studies have investigated in the role of context in leadership.

Beside these limitations, even though researchers agree that leadership categorizations and perceptions occur as a result of automatic and controlled information processing, almost all studies use videotapes, scripts, surveys, or pictures presented to participants in order to measure leadership perceptions. They may also ask participants to make a list of leadership attributes or prototypes during a certain period of time. Even though their methods claim to test both automatic and controlled processes (Cronshaw & Lord, 1987; Foti et al., 2008), participant

responses are limited and not spontaneous. They are based on stimuli presented by researchers under conditions of high capacity, allowing controlled processing. That is, participants may already be aware of the leadership attributes or prototypes that lead them to make particular judgments.

However, according to a different stream of social cognition research (Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996; Bargh et al., 2001; Devine, 1989), the activation of perceptual representations directly link to corresponding behavior. They observed participants' reactions or imitating behaviors to test the effect of activating the stereotypes of certain groups without the participants being aware of it. For example, Bargh et al. (1996) primed participants by providing them to words related to old age (e.g., grey, bingo, and Florida). After completing the priming task, researchers recoded the walking time from the experimental room to the elevator. The average walking time of old –age priming groups was longer than that of control groups. This finding suggests that people display behavior corresponding to the activated stereotype, old age being associated with slowness of movement (Dijksterhuis & Bargh, 2001).

The effect of priming was seen in spontaneously produced behavior while the participants' attention was elsewhere. The role of automatic processes in providing inputs to these controlled behaviors, as in studies by Bargh et al.(1996, 2001), is not explicitly tested in current leadership perception research. At the least, an alternative methodology allowing spontaneous responding might be employed to illuminate some aspects of leadership representations. This will be considered below.

1.3 Leadership research in cultural psychology

Cultural research is based on the premise that a "person" is both a biological entity and a social creature (Cross & Markus, 1999). Although people are biological creatures who

universally eat, sleep, and work, we are sociocultural creatures as well, behaving in culture-specific ways (Fiske et al., 1998; Freeman, Rule, & Ambady, 2009). Therefore, researchers should investigate how cultural factors are related to human social life, including leadership perception and the representations that influence it.

Hofstede (1980) defined culture as the "software of the mind" shared by a number of people. That is, culture is a level of collective "programming" which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another. Hofstede (1980) proposed four cultural dimensions: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism/ collectivism, and masculinity/femininity. Each of 40 countries was placed on each one of those four dimensions, via an extensive survey. He found that East Asian countries show strong collectivism and power distance, whereas the United States shows strong individualism and low power distance (Heine, 2008). These results suggest that leadership concepts in Asian countries may be different from leadership in the United States (Hofstede, 1980).

Several studies provide evidence that leadership is both a universal and a culture-specific phenomenon; cultural factors affect the basic processes underlying leadership relations (Chemers & Ayman, 1993; Dorfman et al., 1997; House, Javidan, Hanges, & Dorfman, 2002; House et al., 2004; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Leadership prototypes have cultural components with different implications in different cultural contexts (Bass, 1990; Chemer & Ayman, 1993; Gestner & Day, 1994). Perceptions of leadership are likely to be influenced by one's own cultural background (Chong & Thomas, 1997). Shaw (1990) likewise proposed that prototypes of good/bad leaders are dramatically different across cultures.

Ayman and Chemers (1983) compared two different cultural groups, Iranians and European Americans, on their ratings of their supervisor's behaviors. Iranians perceived a father-

like figure, warm but stern, to be an ideal leader, whereas paternalism was not prevalent among European Americans. Moreover, due to such different ideal perceptions, the evaluation and meaning of a leader's behavior and characteristics are interpreted differently in different cultures (Den Hartog et al., 1999).

Likewise, Westwood (1997) explored leadership concepts among Overseas Chinese (OSC), people living in Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, Singapore and other countries. He argues that OSC share traditional Chinese culture, valuing social harmony, and give evidence of a different leadership concept he called "paternalistic headship". Paternalistic headship is a role which combines discipline and authority with fatherly concern and benevolence, which is a different from Western European leadership concepts (Westwood, 1997). Other research found that paternalistic headship is shared by other countries in East Asia including South Korea (Cho, 1991).

Gestner and Day (1994) studied Lord et al.'s (1984) leader prototypicality ratings of 59 attributes, concluding that various cultures have different leadership representations, particularly of a business leader. They found that "decisive" was perceived as a highly prototypical attribute in most countries. However, the results reveal that Western countries consider "determined" as the most prototypical, whereas in Eastern countries, "intelligent" was seen as highly prototypical. In other words, ratings of prototypical leader attributes vary among different cultures and are strongly related to the values of each country on three of Hofsetde's (1980) dimensions, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and individualism/collectivism (Hanges, Lord, & Dickson, 2000).

Additional evidence was obtained by the GLOBE research project. GLOBE is based on Lord's implicit leadership theory (Lord, Foti, & Phillips, 1982; Lord et al., 1984; Offermann,

Kennedy, & Wirtz, 1994). GLOBE research adapted both quantitative and qualitative methods to explain cultural influences in leadership style and perception (House et al., 2002). The findings are consistent with previous cross-cultural studies. They found some attributes and behaviors of leaders are linked to specific cultures, yet they also claimed that "charismatic/value based behaviors" are endorsed universally (Den Hartog et al., 1999).

Dorfman et al. (1997) also investigated commonalities and differences across cultures. They compared five countries in the Asian-Pacific Rim: Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Mexico, and the United States. They depicted each country based on its current economic circumstances and cultural dimensions as defined by Hofstede (1980). Specifically, Dorfman et al. (1997) described South Korea as an important manufacturing competitor to the United States and Japan. They also noted that South Korea has a collectivism dimension influenced more by Confucianism than other Asian countries; it emphasizes group harmony, whereas the United States has an individualism dimension and low power distance. They examined the relationships among leadership behaviors, satisfaction with supervision and satisfaction with work as measured by the Job Descriptive Index (Smith et al., 1969), as well as role ambiguity. Their results revealed that satisfaction with supervision is related both to supportive and charismatic leadership in South Korea. In comparison, the United States results showed that supportive, charismatic and contingent reward leadership is related to satisfaction with supervision.

Chong and Thomas (1997) investigated the effect of leader and follower ethnicity on leadership prototypes. They assumed that interaction between leaders and followers in organizations may be influenced by the ethnic identity of both the leader and the follower. They compared two ethnic groups in New Zealand, Europeans and Pacific Islanders. No effects of leader or follower ethnicity or their interaction were found for a "maintenance" dimension of

leader behavior. However, perceptions of "pressure-type" behavior were significantly affected by follower ethnicity. Europeans perceived less pressure-related behavior than did Pacific Islanders.

Brodbeck et al. (2000) examined cultural variations within one geopolitical region, Europe. Adapting Ronen and Shenkar's (1985) cultural country clustering, they established six European cultural clusters, (Anglo, Nordic, Germanic, Latin, Central, and Near East) based on geographical proximity, common language or language group and religion. They argued that West European people (Nordic, Anglo, Germanic and Latin European) tend to put high value "Equality: or "Egalitarian Commitment", whereas East Europeans (Central and Near East European) tend to score higher on "Hierarchy" or "Conservatism." Based on these cultural clusters, Brodbeck et al. (2000) divided Europe into two cultural clusters, North/West and South/East. Then they recruited managers from 22 European countries, and asked them to rate the degree to which various leadership traits and behaviors facilitate or impede "outstanding leadership". They found that people in the North and West European regions tend to value integrity and performance highly, whereas those in the South and East European regions value a team integrator and administrative behaviors.

Popper and Druyan (2001) also have shown that members of different ethnic groups perceive the same leaders differently. Two groups, new immigrants from Russia to Israel and native born Israelis, assessed their managers on the MLQ (Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire; Bass, 1985). The new Russian immigrants scored their managers higher on the MLQ than Israelis, except for a "laissez-faire" factor which is a "non-leadership style". This avoidance or absence of leadership is the least active style. A sample item is: "The leader avoids getting involved when important issues arise".

There is also some evidence supporting unique aspects of leadership in South Korea.

Shin's (1999) overview of the traits and leadership styles of CEOs in South Korean companies focused on comparing successful and unsuccessful South Korean firms. When asked to list the success factors and failure factors of the firm selected, participants concentrated on the roles of the CEO. Shin (1999) reported five representative traits of CEOs of successful South Korean firms such as "management respect for employees" (30.4%), "initiator attitude" (22.8%), and "tenacity and summoning spirit" (20.8%). Using these representative traits, a cluster analysis was conducted which established three leadership styles: "battlefield commander", "network builders", and "can-do spirit."

All these studies found that there are unique leadership perceptions in various cultures. However, they do not explain why these differences exist, their origins, and their representations.

Yoon (2009) reported similar evidence, comparing leadership perceptions in South Korea and the United States. In my first pilot study, I conducted a series of focus groups to obtain general ideas of leadership perception in South Korea and the United States. Focus groups were held separately in both countries; South Korean participants were recruited from two universities in South Korea and American participants were from the Georgia Institute of Technology. The participants were given approximately 10 minutes to write about "what comes to mind" when they hear or see the words, "a leader" or "leadership". The participants were also asked to describe as many characteristics or images of leaders as they could in 10 minutes. They were left alone in the room while they were answering the question.

After writing, the participants and I discussed their responses. The discussions were led by participants. They detailed their descriptions and explained reasons for their thoughts. During the discussions, I observed their comments and interactions with other

participants. I also asked additional questions as necessary. Focus group research findings from both countries provided a general idea of leadership concepts among South Koreans and Americans. There was some overlap between the two groups. For instance, both groups mentioned "charismatic" (12 in South Korea and 13 in the United States) and "motivating others" (10 in South Korea and 11 in the United States.) Moreover, they generally described similar visible signs and specific behaviors for those two characteristics. These findings suggest common leadership concepts.

However, I found cultural uniqueness in some leadership concepts as well. Generally, Americans were prone to report more explicit behaviors or visible characteristics than South Koreans. "Good speaker" and "physical appeal" are examples. In contrast, South Koreans discuss more abstract characteristics of leadership such as "intuitive", "harmonious", and "good administrator." These different results might be due to not only culture or history but also current circumstances in the two countries.

Although the results give a general idea of leadership concepts in South Korea and the United States, I noticed that South Koreans had difficulty verbalizing their thoughts and concepts as compared to Americans. This method also only allows us to know the leadership concepts at the conscious, verbal level and so may miss important but nonconscious determinants (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977). Besides, verbalizing or making a list of attributes direct a people's attention to a focal figure, (e.g. a leader) and ignores contextual factors. However, in cross cultural research, we should consider contextual factors that might not be conscious but important to affect people's judgment. Thus, alternative methods that reflect unconscious leadership concepts including contextual factors are necessary.

1.4 Leadership perceptions in context

Hanges et al. (2000) developed a connectionist network model to examine the relationship between culture, self-concept, and leadership concepts. Connectionist networks are "units" which are activated either by environmental input or by other "units" in the network. According to Hanges et al. (2000), the stable patterns of units' activations are schemas and they become more efficient as the number of encounters with the original input pattern increases. Thus, they believe that leadership representations and other "schemas" are stable patterns of activity over connectionist networks. Since culture pervades people's lives, culturally unique networks arise, and these are the basis for efficient responses.

Hanges et al. (2000) also pointed out that self-concepts, particularly the independent self and interdependent self, are closely connected to leadership perceptions. According to Markus and Kitayama (1991), Westerners hold independent self-concepts: individualistic, egocentric, separate, autonomous, and idiocentric. On the other hand, Easterners mostly hold interdependent self-concepts: socio-centric, holistic, collective, allocentric, ensembled, constitutive, contextualistic, connected, and relational. Markus's works also demonstrated how self-concepts are closely connected to how people perceive others. According to her research, people are more likely to notice aspects of others when those aspects relate to traits that are included in their self-concepts (Markus et al., 1985).

Thus, Hanges et al. (2000) argued that self-concepts affect the salience of information as well as memory, emotion, and motivation processes. For instance, people who have interdependent selves will be more sensitive to information about, and show more emotions related to, other individuals and social groups compared to those who have independent selves. Therefore, they suggested that people display different leadership perceptions based on different

leadership representations which in term depend on their self-concepts.

Nisbett (2003) and Masuda and Nisbett's (2001) support the previous findings with a new approach to cultural variations in perception. Nisbett (2003) argued that Asians (Chinese, Japanese, and South Korean) actually see, think about, and organize the world in fundamentally different ways than Westerners. For instance, unlike Westerners, the Chinese, Japanese, and South Korean self concept depends very much on context. Likewise, Kühnen and Oyserman (2002) demonstrated that priming independent and interdependent self-construal fosters different modes of thinking. Independent self-construal is associated with a context-independent mode of processing, while interdependent self-construal is less so.

Likewise, Masuda and Nisbett (2001) showed that Japanese are more likely to engage in a context-dependent cognitive process, whereas Americans more likely to engage in a context - independent cognitive process. They found that Japanese shown pictures of a large fish in a tank mentioned background features such as rocks, water, and plants when the experimenter asked what they observed, whereas Americans mentioned only the large focal fish. Similar results were obtained when participants were asked to recognize animals against the same or different backgrounds. When the animal was displayed with a new background, Americans were more accurate than Japanese. This finding implies that Japanese have a hard time recognizing the focal animal because they remember the scene in contextual and holistic ways. Thus, Nisbett and his colleagues argued that attributional, perceptual and cognitive differences between Asians and Westerners are partly due to differences in their attention to the object versus the context (Masuda & Nisbett, 2006; Nisbett, 2003).

Direct evidence also supports these attentional differences (Chua, Boland, & Nisbett, 2005). Researchers examined eye movements of Americans and Chinese while they viewed the

pictures of both focal animals and nonliving entities with new/old backgrounds for 3 seconds. After completing the eye movement and picture exposure task, participants were given a recognition task. The results for the eye movement patterns suggest that the American participants looked at the fore grounded objects sooner and longer than Chinese, but the Chinese participants made more fixations on the background than Americans. The results for the recognition task are also consistent with previous research. Chinese are less accurate in recognizing objects when they are presented with new backgrounds.

A recent study has also examined the relationship between culture and attentional allocation (Boduroglu, Shah, & Nisbett, 2009). In comparison to attentional breadth differences and differences in encoding process, they found East Asians were better in detection performance than Americans, especially on the expanded trials condition (by expanding the layout of the objects) which covers a broader region. In other word, East Asians were better at a contextually based judgment task. However, East Asians were significantly worse at detecting changes on the shrink trials condition (by shrinking configuration) which is a more central focused.

Masuda et al. (2008a) adapted the idea of cultural differences in attention and applied it to perception of facial emotions. Using various sizes of cartoon figures, they examined how people perceive the focal figure's emotion and if contextual information influences such judgments.

The findings suggest that Japanese take into account the background figure's facial expressions when they judge the focal figure's emotions. Americans are less influenced by the expressions of background figures.

Furthermore, Masuda, Gonzalez, Kwan, & Nisbet (2008b) also analyzed the artistic

styles of masterpieces in ancient Greece/Rome and early China. They found that the Eastern drawings have a higher horizon, allowing more pieces of contextual information, than Western drawings. East Asian and Western portraiture styles were also compared. According to Masuda et al. (2008b), the ratio of the size of the face to the size of the entire visual field was significantly smaller in East Asian portraits than in Western portraits.

A very recent line of research in cultural psychology takes a neuroscience approach (Freeman et al., 2009; Spivey, 2007). They focus on how culture can shape the neurological processes of social perception, producing interactions among the brain, body, and surrounding environments. They reviewed how Western culture and East Asian cultures differ not only in nonsocial perception but social perception such as perceiving other people, recognizing emotions, and values in dominance and subordination.

All of this research supports the idea that the cognitive styles associated with culture affect how people see the world, including leadership. Although research on memory and recognition tasks offer insight, the methodology does not allow people to produce responses. Rather, they require answers to structured questions. Moreover, noted to above, some cultures are not comfortable with verbalizing their thoughts (Yoon, 2009). However, Masuda et al.'s (2008b) alternative methodology suggests a way to illuminate some aspects of leadership representations without these limitations.

Masuda et al. (2008b) asked East Asian and American participants to draw landscapes and take portrait photographs to test whether people represent their perceptions in the same way as the artists from their cultures. In the first phase, they asked participants to draw visual images (landscape pictures). East Asians drew more contextual objects than did Americans, which suggests that people represent a landscape in culturally specific ways. The findings of the

portrait photographs task also reveal that East Asians tend to put the model in the background, whereas Americans tend to emphasize the focal figure.

Following the procedures of the second Masuda et al. (2008b) study, I conducted a second pilot study to explore leadership concepts among South Koreans and Americans. As in Masuda et al. (2008b), instead of providing stimuli and structured questions to participants, I allowed them to generate their own answers.

Nine American graduate students and ten South Korean graduate students from the Georgia Institute of Technology participated in the pretest. Most of the South Korean students have been in the United States less than 2 years and all identified themselves as South Koreans. Participants were asked to draw a "leader" and were given five minutes. They were allowed to draw additional items related to leadership and were told that I was not interested in their artistic skills, a specific kind of picture or their drawing speed. After they complete the drawing task, I asked them to describe the picture they drew, explain its meaning, and make additional comments as desired. The results were consistent with previous research; South Koreans (Mean = 3.91, SD = 2.50) drew many more additional objects than Americans (Mean = .78, SD = 1.30).

In the third pilot test, American undergraduate students from the Georgia Institute of Technology performed the same drawing task. However, this time, participants were asked to draw three different "professionals" including a leader, a banker, and an athlete. The participants had three minutes for each drawing. The results are similar to those of the Masuda et al. (2008b) photograph tasks. Americans' drawings contained larger focal figures and fewer other objects.

CHAPTER 2

OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH

All the findings above support the proposition that East Asians are more inclined to represent events or behavior contextually than are Westerners. These cultural differences in social judgments gave rise to questions about more a specific topic, leadership perception. This study examines how people from South Korea and the United States represent the concept of leadership. More specifically, I will ask participants to draw three professionals, a "leader", a "banker", and an "athlete". The banker and athlete are chosen to be control comparisons so that I can detect any special features specific to the "leader" while replicating cultural differences with the control drawings. I chose different professionals, based on Lord et al. (1984) and Rosch's (1978) categorization theory. Two hypotheses are proposed:

Hypothesis 1. The size of the focal figure will be larger in American drawings than South Korean drawings. That is, Americans will attend to focal figures more than South Koreans.

Hypothesis 2. South Koreans will draw more contextual objects than Americans, and South Koreans will spontaneously mention context relations more frequently when asked to explain their drawings. South Koreans will attend to the relationships between focal figures and background elements more than Americans.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Participants

The study included with two different participant groups, American and South Korean. American participants (self identified as "American") were recruited from the Georgia Institute of Technology. South Korean participants were recruited from The Catholic University of Korea and Hong-ik University. American participants received extra class credit in exchange for their participation; whereas South Korean participants were given a bus shuttle ticket as compensation. However, all the South Korean participants were volunteers who agreed to participate in the study without prior knowledge of compensation[1]. The final sample was 61 Americans (35 females and 26 males) and 58 South Koreans (30 females and 28 males). The mean age of American participants was 19.58 (*SD*=1.45) while South Koreans arranged 24.41 (*SD*=7.04). South Korean participants were older than Americans because it is typical for South Koreans to have worked or served in the military either before or during their university careers.

3.2 Materials

Three pieces of 8.27 × 11.69 inch (21×29.7 cm) paper (European A4 letter size) with a 1 inch black frame were used for the drawing task. A black pen was provided to participants.

[1] In addition, I asked South Korean participants if they had experience living in other countries. The results showed only 7 participants out of 58 had lived abroad for a mean of 7.29 months (SD=4.39).

3.3 Procedure

Data were collected in South Korea and the United States following a similar format. Participants were randomly assigned to groups of five to nine people. [2] Each participant first completed a consent form, and then were give task instructions. They were told that the purpose of the study was to see how people visualize images of professionals, not to judge artistic skills, "correct" answers, or drawing speed. Then, they were asked to draw pictures of three professionals, a leader, a banker, and an athlete, allowing three minutes for each picture. The order of the three drawings was completely counterbalanced: order was randomly assigned to the participants. They were told to draw "what comes to mind" when they see or hear about a leader, a banker, and an athlete. They were also told to feel free to draw additional objects. After completing the drawing task, they were asked to describe the pictures on additional sheets. Demographic data was gathered last. The total time commitment for the experiment was 40 minutes.

3.4 Analysis

The pictures were input as JPEG images which are easy to trace with computer software. Then, the size of each focal figure were measured using AutoCAD (Computer Aided Design) 2007 Architecture, a standard software package developed by Autodesk Inc., 2006, as well as Photoshop CS3 version 10.0. AutoCAD is used by architects, engineers, and designers to measure and draw objects in 2D and 3D (Hein & Liu, 2007). For example, AutoCAD is for used to measure distances and create building layouts for architectural drawings.

[2] The number of participants in each group differed between South Korea and the United States. Since the majority of South Korean participants were volunteers from psychology classes, they tend volunteer for the experiments in groups. In contrast, Americans volunteered individually, participants were recruited through the Experimetrix system in the United States. As a result, numbers of the students per group varied. On average, fewer American students participated at a given session.

Applying AutoCAD allowed me to precisely measure the participants' drawings without any bias or the use of multiple raters. Masuda et al. (2008b) measured the focal face size in portraits by drawing a square around the outline of face. Although this method is convenient and rapid, it is not the most precise. Using AutoCAD, the area of the focal figure, the total area of the frame, and the area of the leader, banker and athlete figure were measured. First, I measured the real size of the frame in the picture with Photoshop and measured the area of the frame with AutoCAD. I found the size of the frame and area in square inches. I then measured the focal figure size by the object method on AutoCAD. With "Area" command, I could specify a series of points of selected object and AutoCAD calculated the total size. Once I found the size of the frame, I used Excel 2003 and 2007 to calculate the size of the focal figures. Although the measuring system for the focal figure size among three professionals was consistent as stated above, an exception occurred if there is more than one athlete in the drawing. For example, some participants draw athlete members of a team or two competitors. In either case, I chose the largest figure among the athletes and measured its size.

Further I counted all additional objects such as desks, chairs, microphones, workout equipment, other people, etc., and analyzed their frequencies. As in Masuda et al. (2008b), I and one other coder, independently coded the additional objects in the picture. First, I counted all the additional objects (e.g. desk, flag, podium, and other people) which were counted as separate objects except athlete drawing. In athlete drawings, the "audiences" were coded 1 as a single "object". For instance, if a person drew 273 heads as an audience, we counted them as one "audience group" only in the athlete picture. After counting the objects, coders compared their numbers and resolved any disagreement. The inter-rater correlations were r_{leader} =.998, r_{banker} =.997, $r_{athlete}$ =.997.

Descriptive information about their drawings was collected from participants' free comments. Content analysis was conducted as recommended by Kenney et al. (1994). I counted attributes such as behaviors, traits, and appearances, etc when these were mentioned more than three times, and I created categories of contents based on attribute roots and meanings. For instance, "professional" and "profession" were combined into a single term, "professional". Attributes with nearly identical meanings such as "leading others" and "directing others" were placed in the same category. Furthermore, I sorted those attributes into more general categories. For example, "well-dressed" and "suit-and-tie" were combined into a broader category, "appearance".

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

In order to assess the main effect of culture, figure category, and their interaction effect 2×3 split plot ANOVA was conducted. Table 1 presents the mean numbers of focal figure size (square inches) and the number of additional objects in two cultures.

4.1 Focal figure size

Hypothesis 1 states that the size of the focal figure will be larger in American drawings than South Korean drawings. This was not supported. No significant cultural differences were found, $F(1,117) = 1.57$, $p > .05$. The interaction of focal figure size (the leader, banker, athlete) and culture also was non-significant, $F(2,234) = .298$, $p > .05$. Focal figure size differed significantly among the three drawings, $F(2,234) = 7.64$, $p < .05$. People in both cultures tend to draw an athlete and a leader larger than a banker (see Table 1, Figure 1).

Table 1.

Mean of focal figure size/the number of additional objects by cultures

	American	South Korean	Average
Focal Figure (Leader)	3.95 (3.62)	5.10 (4.77)	4.49 (4.24)
Additional Objects (Leader)	6.57 (9.27)	10.00 (12.67)	8.22 (11.14)
Focal Figure (Banker)	3.26 (2.67)	3.85 (4.95)	3.55 (3.94)
Additional Objects (Banker)	3.05 (3.19)	5.62 (4.10)	4.30 (3.87)
Focal Figure (Athlete)	4.83 (4.04)	5.40 (4.53)	5.10 (4.28)
Additional Objects (Athlete)	1.84 (1.99)	4.10 (4.64)	2.93 (3.70)

Note. Standard deviations are in parentheses.

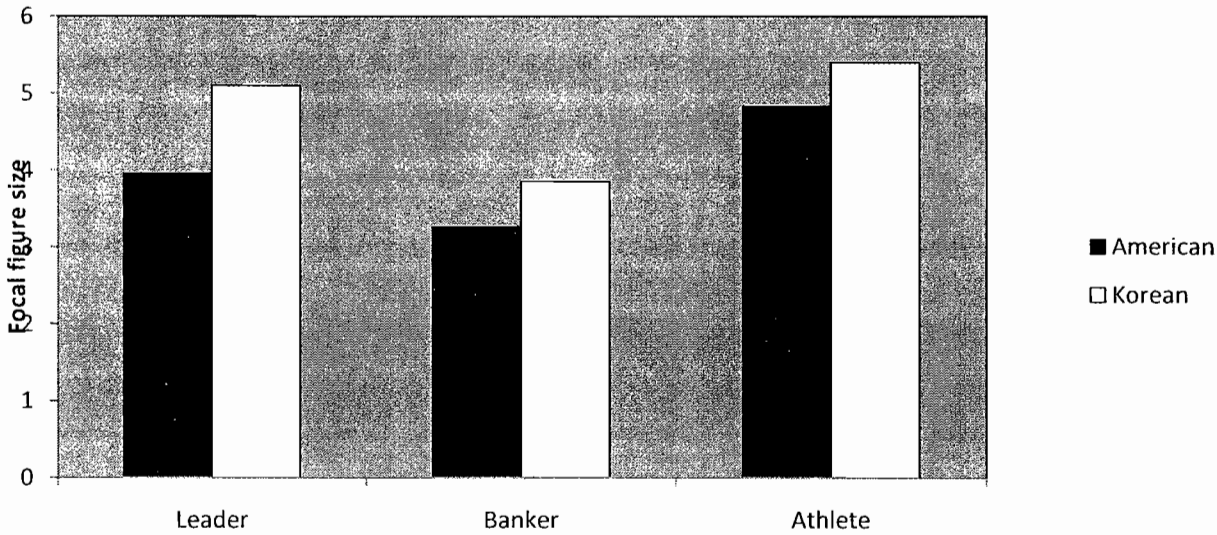


Figure 1. Mean of focal figure size by Americans and South Koreans.

A Bonferroni procedure revealed that the comparison of leader focal figure size with banker focal figure size was marginally significant, F (2,234) = 9.88, p<.05 (mean difference, .955, p=.054). However, the leader focal figure was not significantly different from the athlete figure. Some possible reasons for this result will be presented in the discussion.

4.2 Number of additional objects

Hypothesis 2 holds that South Koreans will tend to draw more contextual objects than Americans.

The analysis of variance indicated that there was a main effect of culture, F (1,117) = 10.57, p <.05. South Koreans draw more additional objects in all three conditions than Americans (see Table 1, Figure 2). In addition, the analysis of variance showed that the number of additional objects differed significantly among the three drawings, F (2,234) = 21.13, p <. 05. No significant interaction effect was founded, F (2,234) = .234, p>. 05.

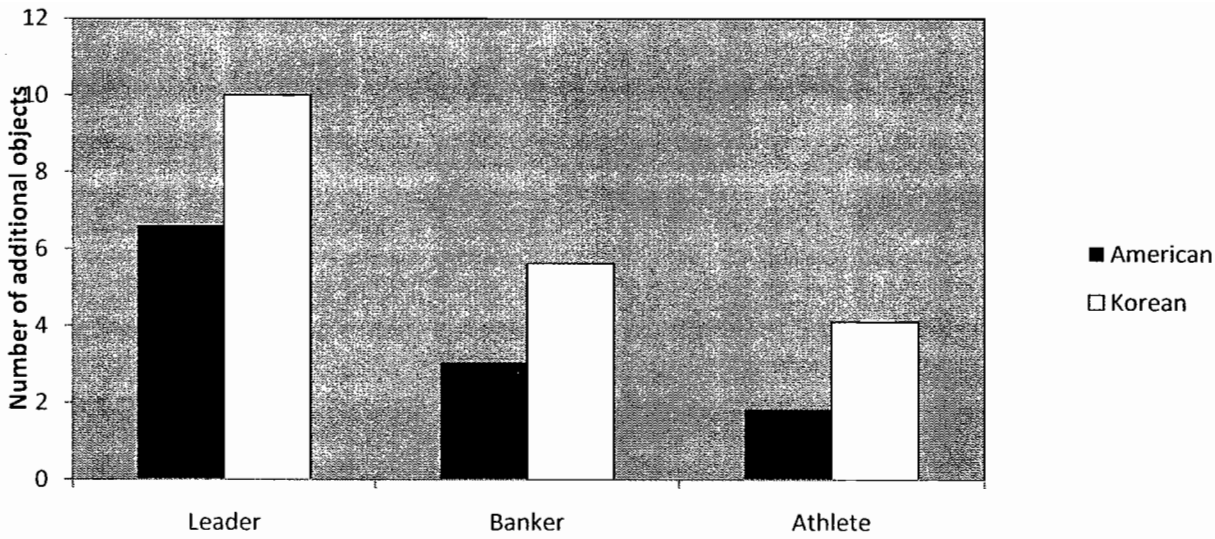


Figure 2. Mean of number of additional objects by Americans and South Koreans.

A Bonferroni procedure showed that the number of additional objects drawn in the leader condition differed significantly from the banker condition, $F(2,234) = 16.91$, $p<.05$, and the number of additional objects in the leader condition differed significantly from the athlete condition as well $F(2,234) = 16.91$, $p<.05$.

Therefore, hypothesis 2 was supported for three different pictures; South Koreans drew more additional objects than Americans.

4.3 Descriptive results

Hypothesis 2 also predicts that South Koreans will mention context relations more frequently when they explain their drawings. Content analyses, discussed below, support this conjecture.

Leader drawings

A total of 177 attributes (traits, behaviors, and appearance) were provided by the 61 Americans. From the 177 specific exemplars, 27 were constructed by combining processes recommended by Kenny et al. (1994). The complete list of 10 attribute categories is list in

Appendix A. Among American participants, the most frequently mentioned attribute was "Appearance." (20.90%) The next most frequently mentioned attributes were "Ability," (13%) and "Directed oriented behaviors." (12.43%) Interestingly, only 10.17% of Americans mentioned context based exemplars, such as "podium" and "flag."

A total of 158 attributes were provided by the 58 South Koreans. Using the identical process, the final 10 attribute categories were created (see Appendix A). Among South Korean participants, the most frequently mentioned attribute was "People oriented behaviors" (28.48%) such as "thoughtful," "good communicator." The next most frequently mentioned attribute was "Directive oriented behaviors" (27.21%), for example, "directing people" and "confident." Unlike Americans, 7.6 % of South Koreans mentioned "others" in their comments. Additionally, 16.46% of South Koreans mentioned contextual attributes including "flag" or "office."

Banker drawing

A total of 170 attributes were obtained from Americans. As in their "leader" comments, "Appearance" (33.53%) was the most commonly mentioned attribute. Americans also often mentioned "Office equipment" such as a desk, chair, etc (17.65%). Interestingly, 25.88% of Americans mentioned contextual attributes such as "money" or "office equipment."

A total of 160 exemplars were obtained from 58 South Koreans. Unlike American participants, South Koreans mentioned "People oriented behaviors" (31.25%) most frequently. This finding is also consistent with their comments about the concept of a leader. The next most frequently mentioned attribute among South Koreans was "Appearance." 27.5% of South Koreans mentioned contextual attributes such as "office equipment" and "waiting numbers" as well.

Athlete drawing

A total of 175 attributes were provided by Americans. They most frequently mentioned "Appearance." (34.29%) The next most common attribute was "Athletic characteristics" such as "strong" and "focused." Only 1.71% of Americans mentioned contextual factors.

A total of 117 exemplars were collected from South Koreans. The most frequently mentioned attribute was "Appearance." (38.46%) Next, 29.06% of South Koreans mentioned contextual attributes including those related to "place" such as baseball field, "sports equipment", and "money".

In summary, there is a relatively large difference in representations of professionals between the two cultures. Americans and South Koreans both tended to report frequently on performance or directive behaviors. However, Americans clearly described a leader or leadership in terms of observable physical attributes such as "appearance," whereas South Koreans described a leader in terms of attributes such as "people-oriented behaviors."

Furthermore, 2 (Culture) × 2 (Context) chi square analysis revealed that South Koreans and Americans differ significantly in their use of context factors when they describe their drawings, χ^2 (1, 963) = 18.299, $p <$ .05. Overall, South Koreans mention context factors more than Americans (see Table 2, Figure 3).

Table 2.

Frequency of using context/non context factors by cultures

	Context factor	Non-context factor	Total
South Korean	101	340	441
American	65	457	522
Total	166	797	963

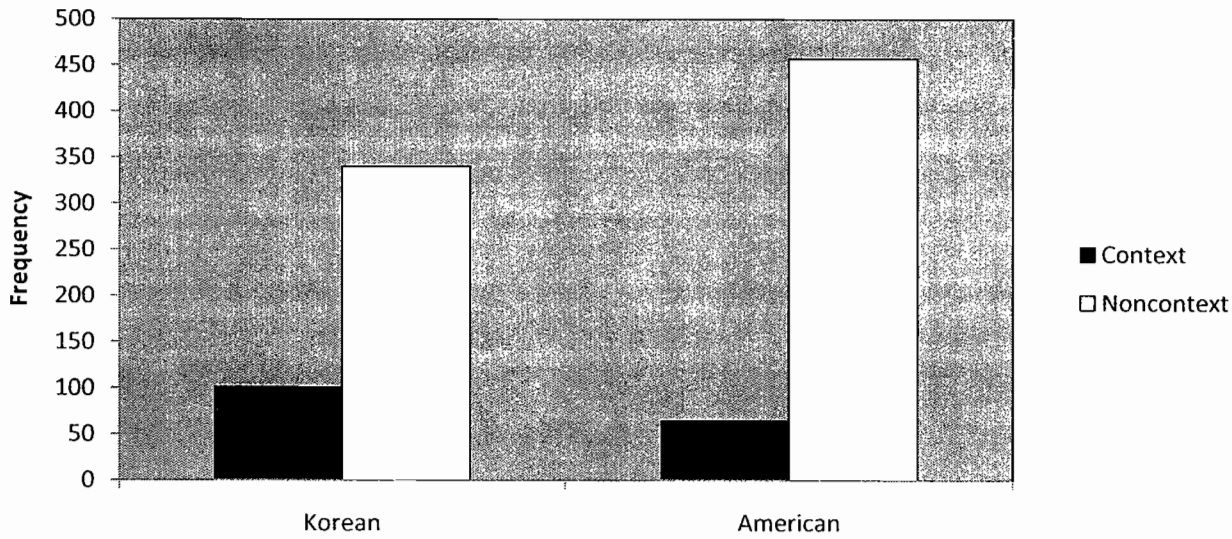


Figure 3. Frequency of the context and noncontext by South Koreans and Americans.

The results also show that South Koreans tend to mention contextual factors consistently over the three drawings. In contrast, Americans tend to mention contextual factors only when they describe the leader and banker. They tend not to mention contextual factors when describing the athlete. Thus, hypothesis 2 was supported from the descriptive results as well.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This research provides some support for cultural differences in leadership representation. Although the results do not support all the expectations of cultural differences, there was some consistent evidence. In two different tasks, drawing and description, I demonstrated that culture is related to leadership representations.

Prior findings about relative focal figure size were not replicated. However, these results provided insights for future research. South Koreans tended to draw larger focal figures than Americans when asked to draw three professionals. Moreover, larger differences were obtained between "a leader" and "an athlete" pictures than "a banker" between these two cultural groups. These results can be explained in several ways.

Unlike other studies that used non-power related drawing or recognition targets such as an ordinary person, landscapes or cartoon images of people (Masuda et al., 2008a; Masuda et al., 2008b), this study used power-related targets. As Yukl (2002) pointed out, leadership is related to "person power", which includes legitimate power, reward power, coercive power, information power, and ecological power. Since a leader is someone who directs and influences others, it is hard to not to consider power, authority, or even hierarchy when we think of a leader. Hofstede (1983) also suggested that the cultural dimensions most relevant to leadership are individualism/collectivism and power distance. Similar to leaders, athletes are public figures; they are perceived as "big men or women" (Anderson, 2008). Thus, two of the targets used in this study can be considered power related.

People in East Asian and Western countries have different perspectives regarding power and power distance. Hofstede (1980, 1983) defined power distance as the extent of inequality in

a society and investigated how different societies deal with inequality related to leadership authority. He discussed that South Korea displays high power distance, whereas the United States is just below average on this dimension.

Likewise, perceptual accentuation research (i.e., Rump & Delin, 1973; Tajfel, 1957; Wilson, 1968) suggests that objects of greater value tended to be overestimated in size, and that persons of high authority status tend to be observed as taller. Changing stimuli's status for each participant group, researchers found that perceived person height increased with increasing with status. Thus, if Koreans have higher "power distance", it is possible that people with more power/ prestige may be seen as "bigger" by Koreans than Americans.

Furthermore, there is neuroscience evidence that East Asian and Westerners have different views of dominance and subordination. Freeman et al. (2009) suggested that perceivers must implicitly recognize the culturally learned value associated with dominance or subordination. Neuroimaging results revealed that Americans showed strong responses to dominant stimuli in the medial prefrontal cortex (mPFC). In contrast, Japanese had strong responses to subordinate stimuli. If this is the case, it is possible that South Koreans perceive a power-related person such as a leader or an athlete bigger or stronger than other professionals.

The second hypothesis predicted that South Koreans will draw more additional objects than Americans. There were significant differences between Americans and South Koreans (see Table 1). Thus, as predicted, South Koreans drew more additional objects than Americans, and mentioned more contextual factors.

5.1 Implications for leadership representation

The important implication of this study is that it calls attention to context factors in leadership research. Although research has examined contextual influences, those studies (i.e.,

Howell & Shamir, 2005; Shamir & Howell, 1999) focused on organizational context, not cultural differences. Furthermore, even most cross-cultural research has focused on general awareness of cultural differences and attentional differences between East Asians and Westerners (Boduroglu et al., 2009; Nisbett & Masuda, 2003), not specifically organizational topics. The present findings suggest that differences between East Asians' and Westerners' representations do not only occur for general social and physical objects but also in organizational phenomena such as leadership representations. Moreover, the evidence suggests that leadership in an interdependent context is not the same phenomenon as in an independent context. Therefore, this study suggests the inclusion of contextual factors in the study of leadership representation and other representations also should be considered.

The current study was unique and noteworthy in that it applied different methods to measure leadership representation directly, better reflecting implicit and automatic processes in two cultures. Previous observations by Yoon (2009) suggest that South Koreans do not feel as comfortable making lists of attributes or verbalizing their thoughts. This is consistent with the idea that South Koreans have holistic concepts which are more inclusive and relation oriented; listing is an analytic method that might not be suitable to them. Hence, adapting alternative methods such as drawing may illuminate their representations in a more culturally general way. Also, unlike other most cultural studies which used East Asians in the United States, I involved South Korean participants living in South Korea. As Boduroglu et al., (2009) pointed out, selecting East Asians living in East Asia is necessary to directly address issues from previous research. This study thus contributes to the explanation of previous findings.

5.2 Limitations and Future research directions

The primary limitation of this study was associated with drawing target selection. Although I selected three professionals based on previous leadership categorization research (Lord et al., 1984), I only included "Professionals" in the drawing task. Two targets, a leader and an athlete, were power-related. Thus, in order to have better understanding of cultural differences in leadership representation, inclusion of non professional targets such as "an ordinary person" or "self" is needed. Possibly low-power people such as "poor people" or "factory workers" could be included. Future work should also explore what contextual factors are meaningful in interdependent cultures.

Another minor concern is that the results from this study were generated by college students in both cultures. Even though I selected South Korean students living in South Korea, college students are likely to share many attributes and life circumstances across even very different nations (Diener & Diener, 1995). It is possible that there might be more overlap between these groups than between other members of these two cultures. In the future, using a more varied sample should be attempted.

Participants' motivation should be addressed. The two groups in this present study might well have different motives for participation. South Korean participants were volunteers who were not aware of any compensation until they finished the task, whereas Americans know they were to be compensated with extra credit. Motivation differences could play a role in their efforts or performance on the task. If this is the case, it would be interesting to look at how motivation affects representations of certain concepts among different cultures. In conclusion, with modifications and improvements, I expect that the application and benefits of methods and concepts in this study will enrich our understanding of how people represent leadership.

5.3 Potential cultural insight

Subjective impressions during the experiment suggest some important insight for future research. A number of drawing details and styles from South Koreans and Americans show some aspects of interdependent and independent culture. Although generally South Koreans drew more "others" in their leader drawings than Americans, both groups draw "others" in their pictures. However, the relationships between leaders and "others" varied in the two cultures. For instance, some South Koreans drew a leader wrapping his/her arms around others or holding others' hands. In contrast, some Americans drew a leader giving a speech to others or leading others from the front. In other words, although they include "others" in their pictures to represent a leader, the meaning of "others" can be totally different. This difference might reflect that Koreans' leadership representations are paternalistic and protective, whereas Americans' are more related to directive and individually prominent. Therefore, future research should develop more systematic ways to measure these cultural differences to further explain leadership representations across cultures.

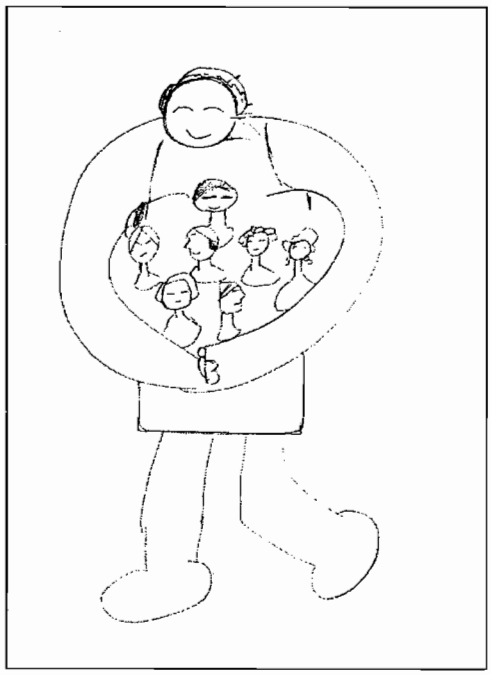
Cultural differences in the number of objects included in leadership representations were noteworthy. Consist with previous findings on cultural differences in attention, aesthetic preferences, and representations (Boduroglu et al., 2009; Masuda et al., 2008b), I found that South Koreans represent leadership perception in holistic patterns which are contextual, inclusive and attend to the relationships between focal objects and background factors. Americans represent leadership perception in analytic patterns which are focal and salient object oriented. In short, this study has found that contexts appear to be important in at least one interdependent culture. This study attempted to understand some of the psychological processes involved in leadership representations and to explore a better method of measuring them; but most

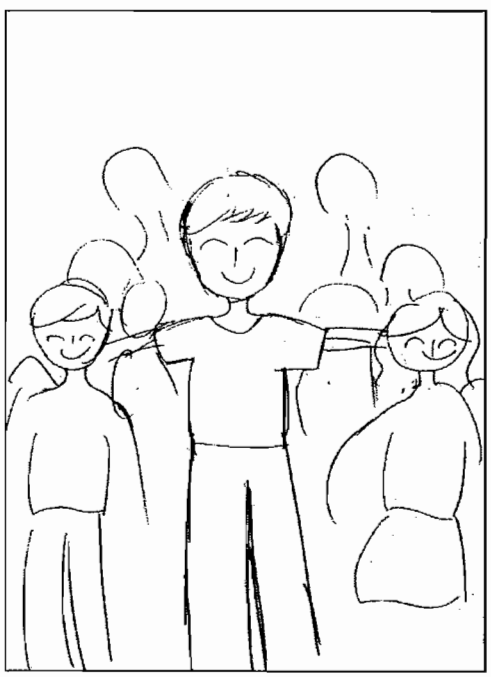
importantly to establish the idea of "leadership representation" differences between cultures in order to stimulate further study. With refined methodology, future study will enrich our understanding of how leadership is represented across cultures.

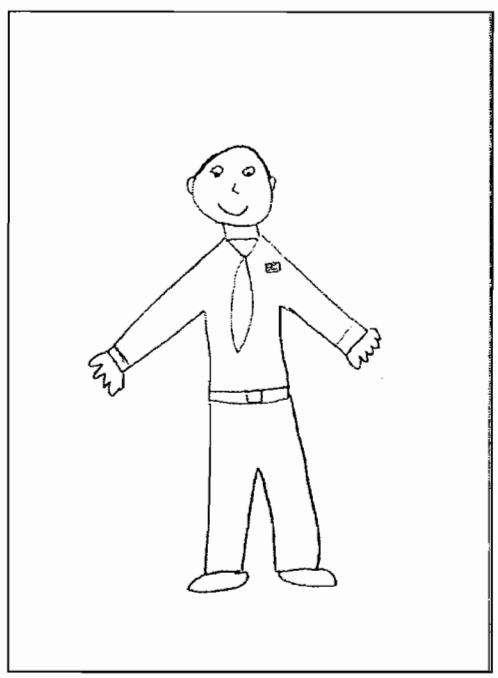
Appendix A. List of 10 leader attributes among Americans and South Koreans

Americans		***South Koreans***	
Attributes	Frequencies	Attributes	Frequencies
Appearance	37	People oriented behavior	45
Ability	23	Directed oriented behavior	43
Directed oriented behavior	22	Ability	12
Speaking	20	Appearance	12
Leader types	19	Other people	12
People oriented behavior	19	Place	11
Place	12	Representative	6
Gender	10	Gender	5
Representative	10	Speaking	5
Other people	5	Leader types	4

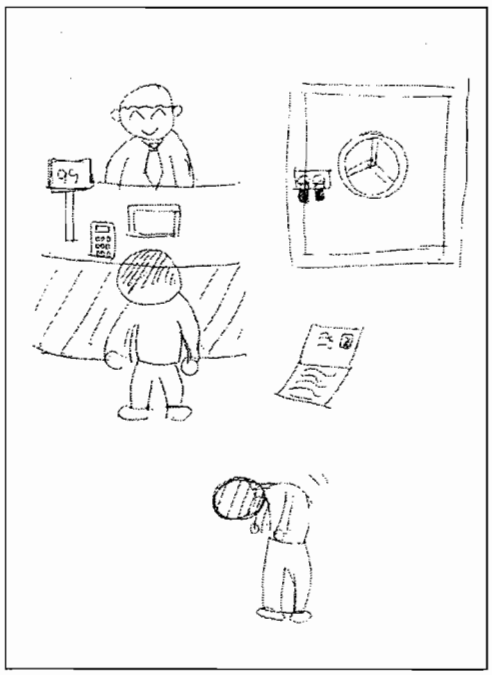
Appendix B. Drawings from South Koreans and Americans (The leader sample)

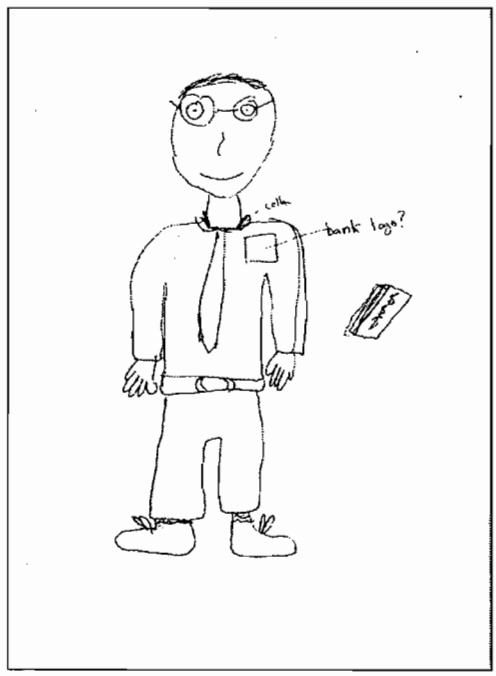


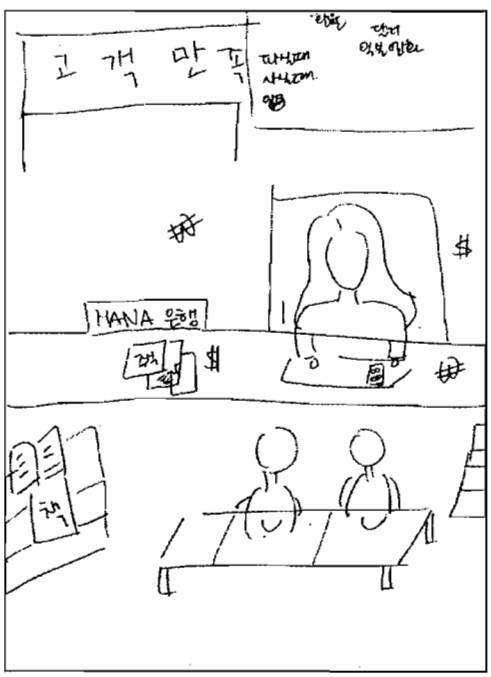


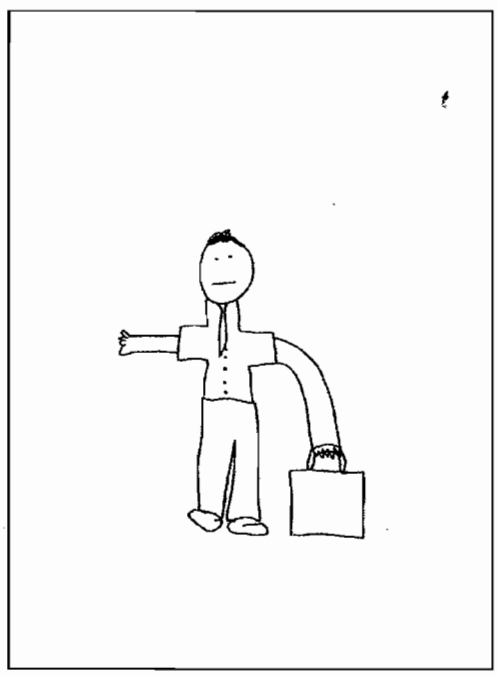


Appendix B. Drawings from South Koreans and Americans (The banker sample)

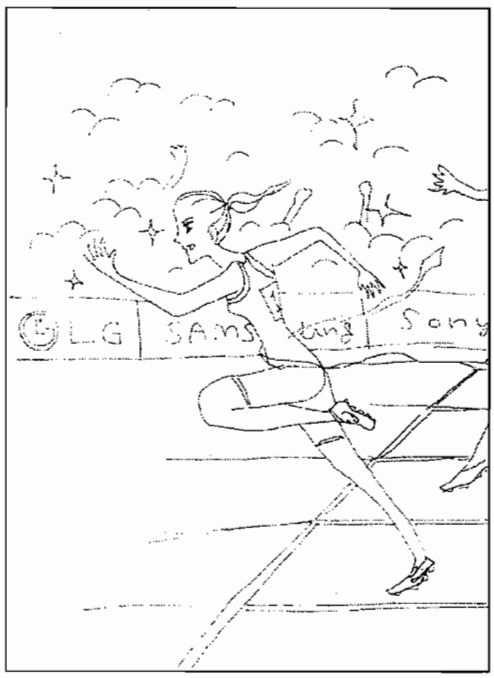


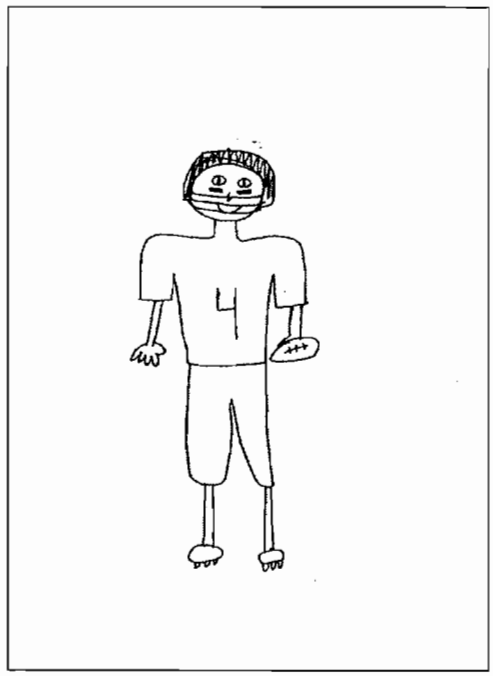


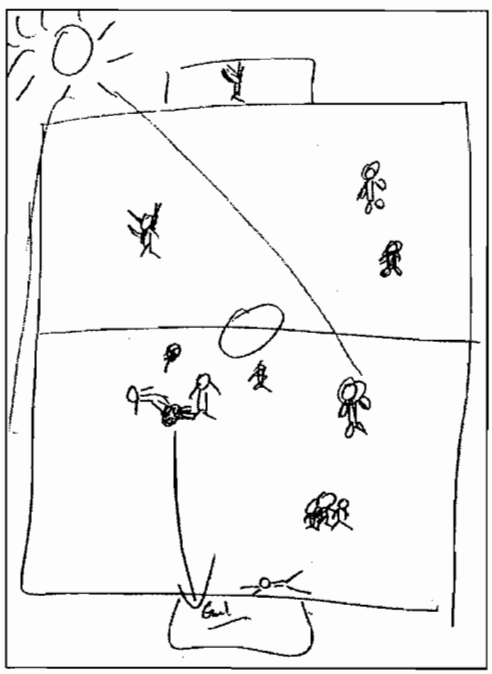


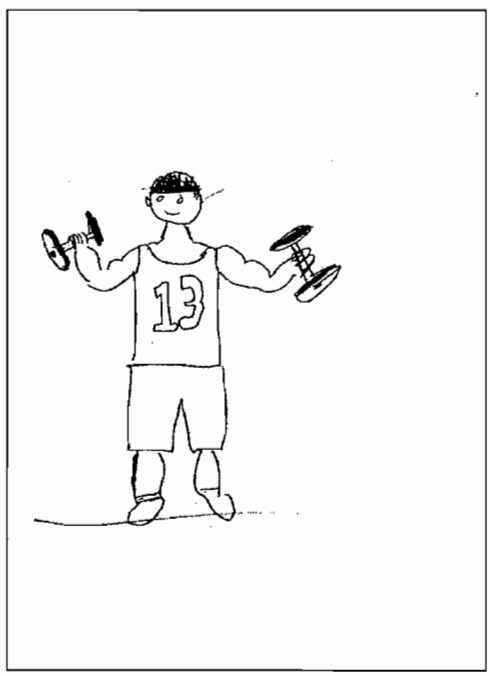


Appendix B. Drawings from South Koreans and Americans (The Athlete sample)









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